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ABSTRACT

This report discusses issues concerning the present and future status of Hispanics in American schools and colleges. It uses enrollment data from schools and colleges through the 1986-87 academic year in order to explore the following trends: (1) the enormous growth of Hispanic enrollment since the 1960s; (2) the intensifying segregation of Hispanic students and the inequality of the schools in which they are segregated; and (3) the increasing number of dropouts and declining college access of Hispanics. Enrollment trends in the following metropolitan areas are explored in depth: (1) Houston (Texas); (2) Los Angeles (California); (3) Chicago (Illinois); and (4) Philadelphia (Pennsylvania). The data show that Hispanics will be a massive influence in American education and that education is related strongly to mobility for Hispanics. It also indicates, however, that Hispanics are not obtaining full access to educational opportunity and appear to be moving backwards in the field of higher education in the following states where they have large numbers: (1) California; (2) Texas; (3) New York; (4) Illinois; (5) Arizona; (6) New Jersey; and (7) New Mexico. The only state that does not evidence this trend is Florida. The data indicate a striking national gap between enrollment and graduates and extraordinary variation among states. Nine tables and 19 references are included. (JS)

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THE GROWTH AND CONCENTRATION OF HISPANIC ENROLLMENT AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

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There are going to be a great many more young Hispanics in our schools and colleges in the coming decades and, if existing trends continue, they are going to have very serious educational problems. If the current pattern of relationships between education, jobs, and income holds, and the projections about the kinds of jobs to be created in the economy are fulfilled, there will be tremendous stresses on many parts of the systems of employment and training, the outcomes of which will have profound and lasting social policy consequences for what will become the nation's largest minority group.

This report uses data through the 1986-87 academic year to show the enormous growth of Hispanic enrollment in U.S. schools and colleges since the 1960s, describe the intensifying segregation of Hispanic students and the inequality of the schools in which they are segregated, and discuss problems of dropouts and declining college access that require serious attention from the leadership of American higher education. The data shows that Hispanics will be a massive influence in American education and that education is related strongly to mobility for Hispanics. It also indicates, however, that Hispanics are not obtaining full access to educational opportunity and appear to be moving backwards in the field of higher education in every state where they have large numbers except Florida.

<u>The Data.</u> Much of the following analysis is built on federal and state school and college enrollment statistics rather than on population data. While there are obvious limitations to this educational data---limited private school information, lack of

data on students who have dropped out, etc.--- it does have powerful advantages over census statistics when analyzing the dynamics of Hispanic population growth and the concomitant changes in school and college enrollment and achievement patterns. Both the demographic and educational statistics on Hispanics are changing extremely rapidly. making it crucial to consider how and when data was collected. It is important to examine which sources provide the most reliable indicators of a changing situation.

There are major problems with the Census Bureau data on Hispanics; it has used different definitions and procedures in each of the last three Censuses, resulting in what Census officials have conceded to be massive undercounts of the Hispanic population. Census statistics, unlike those in the school data, do not report whites, blacks and Hispanics as mutually exclusive categories. As a result, virtually all of the published data from the 1980 Census includes large numbers of Hispanics within the category "white." In general, this lack of consistent definitions of data points across time makes it difficult to do any detailed analysis of trends using this data. It also means that every time Hispanics are compared with Census "whites" the "white" part of the comparison includes millions of Hispanics. For most policy purposes the best comparisons are with non-Hispanic whites.

These problems are compounded by the fact that the Census is conducted only once every ten years and has used different data collection procedures at different times. When these flaws are

considered in light of the fac[illegible] that the Hispanic population has been changing at a rapid rate, it is not surprising that the U.S. government has conceded that information from the decennial Census is both inaccurate and hopelessly out of date.

In contrast to the Census Bureau's changing definitions, there has been a consistent definition of Hispanics ever since school enrollment statistics were first collected nationally by federal civil rights officials in 1968. Federal racial enrollment statistics were initially collected in response to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which required nondiscrimination in all federally funded programs. The same set of legal requirements began to produce similar national racial information on colleges and universities during the late sixties.

In its early years, the federal Office for Civil Rights collected school and college data every year. Since that time, they have collected it every even-numbered year. This means that there is a great deal of detailed information on Hispanics, collected both consistently and frequently for eighteen years. This information includes such interesting questions as language status well back into the 1970s.

The 1986 Education Department Office for Civil Rights data on elementary and secondary enrollment became available in early 1988 and the college summary data was released in March 1988. Computer tapes have not yet been supplied to researchers, and the national, state and regional data reported here for 1986 is derived from OCR summary tables and reports. Computations for 1984 and earlier years were made from the data tapes.

Many of the year-by-year estimates of changes in high school graduation and college-going rates in this report come from the Current Population surveys, which survey about 59,500 households with a response rate of approximately 96%. One problem with this data set, according to the Census Bureau, is that there is undercoverage, particularly for males and minorities. In addition, the statistical adjustment techniques used in calculating the reported national numbers do not adjust for the known undercount in the 1980 Census which is used as a baseline. (Census Current Population Reports, Educational Attainment, 1987: Appendix B).

There are considerable advantages in relying upon actual enrollment statistics rather than survey estimates, which are subject to increasing error as the sample is divided into sub-areas. This is particularly true when the analysis goes below the national totals, as it must when exploring the different patterns in different regions and circumstances.

It is similarly advantageous to place primary reliance on school statistics when considering future college enrollments, as there is a very strong reason for schools to make as complete a count as possible (their state aid relies upon it) and as any young people not enrolled in school are very unlikely to be in the college-going population.

The principal drawback of reliance on public school data is the inability to look closely at data from private and parochial schools at the elementary and secondary levels. Data from such schools is, however, included in the higher education figures.

More than nine-tenths of Hispanic students attend public schools. Data from the National Catholic Education Association on the enrollment of Hispanic students in Catholic elementary and secondary schools, shows that the Catholic schools enroll a small and shrinking share of this economically disadvantaged and largely Catholic population. In 1987-88 there were just over a quarter million (256,000) Hispanic students in Catholic schools, about one-eighth of their enrollment. The overall Catholic system has declined by almost half during this period, so that Hispanics were a growing share of a declining system. Although the number of Hispanic students in Catholic schools grew by about a fifth from fall 1971 to fall 1987, the increase in public schools over a sixteen year period was approximately four times as fast. Thus a growing share of the total Hispanic enrollment attended public schools. Only about 6% of Hispanic students attend Catholic schools.

The effect of Catholic education is even more limited at the high school level. In 1980 there were only 58,800 Hispanic students in Catholic high schools.(National Catholic Ed. Assoc., 1988 and U.S. Dept. of Education, 1986 OCR data). The limited size and substantial tuition of Catholic secondary education means that Hispanic students in the immediate pre-collegiate years are overwhelmingly in public institutions.

The data used in this report includes federal civil rights data, recent data from the Current Population Survey, data from the American Council on Education's survey of college freshmen, and other sources. Specific data on individual metropolitan

areas collected from state and local agencies by the Metropolitan Opportunity Project at the University of Chicago is also relied on in major portions of this analysis, as are calculations of segregation patterns prepared by the author for the Joint Center for Political Studies. This analysis is designed to assemole the best and most current data on the changing demography of Hispanic education and to assess the implications of those changes.

Growth of Hispanic Enrollment. During the first eighteen years of federal data collection on the race and ethnicity of students, there was an enormous growth in the proportion of Hispanic public school students in the U.S. and a substantial decline in the proportion of Anglos (non-Hispanic whites; see table 1). Hispanic students who made up 4.6% of the national total in the 1968-69 school year accounted for 9.9% in the 1986-87 school year. In this eighteen year period, in other words, the Hispanic share of the total U.S. public school enrollment more than doubled.

Eighteen years ago there were more than three times as many blacks as Hispanics in the school population; now the Hispanic enrollment is approaching two-thirds of the black numbers. There was one Hispanic student for every seventeen white students eighteen years ago; in 1986-87 there was one for every seven whites. Should these trends continue very long they will fundamentally change the social structure of American education. Hispanics will become the nation's largest minority

group and the proportion of whites will fall substantially. All signs show that these changes are continuing.

Table 1

% NATIONAL ENROLLMENT BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, FALL 1968-FALL 1986

	1968	1980	1986	Change
Hispanic	4.6	8.0	9.9	+5.3
Black	14.5	16.1	16.1	+1.6
Anglo	80.0	73.2	70.4	-9.6
Asian & Indian	.9	2.7	3.7	+2.8

* Hispanics may be of any race; Anglos are non-Hispanic whites.

Source: DBS Corp., "1986 Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey," Report to Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dept. of Education, Dec. 1987; DBS Corp., "Comparision of Exposure Rates and Desegregation Indicies, 1970 and 1980," Office for Civil Rights, Dept. of Education, August 1982; [add source for 1968 figures]

Between 1968 and 1986 the number of Hispanic students

in public schools grew from 2,003,000 to 4,064,000, an increase of 2.1 million students, while white enrollment dropped 5.7 million and black enrollment increased only a modest .3 million. During this period, in other words, Hispanics increased by 103%, Anglos dropped 16%, and black enrollment was up 5%. Asian and American Indian enrollments increased even more dramatically than the Hispanics', but proceded from a much lower baseline. Asian enrollment increased an astonishing 55% in the six years from 1980 to 1986.

Table 2

ENROLLMENT CHANGES, 1968-1986, IN MILLIONS

	1968	1980	1986	CHANGE
Hispanics	2.00	3.18	4.06	+2.06
Anglos	34.70	29.16	28.96	-5.74
Blacks	6.28	6.42	6.62	+ .34

Source: DBS Corp., 1982, 1987; Orfield, George, and Orfield,1986

There is no sign that these trends will fundamentally change. During the most recent two years for which data is available (from fall 1984 to fall 1986) the pattern was generally similar, except for a small upturn for Anglo students from the 1984 low point. This upturn reflects the temporary surge in the Anglo birthrate that occured during the late 1970s and early 1980s, which is likely to decline as the baby boom generation moves out of the child-bearing years. Meanwhile, the black

enrollment increased .2 million, the Hispanic, .5 million and the Asian, .2 million. These trends clearly show that the proportion of whites in the schools will continue to decline as the minority population becomes increasingly diverse and much more heavily Hispanic.

The nation's Hispanic population and Hispanic enrollment has long been concentrated in the states of the Southwest and the metropolitan regions of New York, Chicago, and Miami.

Table 3

States with Largest Hispanic Enrollments, 1970-1986

	1986 enrollment	1970 enrollment	change #	change %
California	1,381,100	706,900	674,200	95
Texas	1,086,200	565,700	520,500	92
New York	384,700	316,600	68,100	21
Illinois	157,000	78,100	78,900	101
Arizona	154,700	85,500	69,200	81
Florida	149,500	65,700	83,800	127
New Jersey	132,000	59,100	72,900	123
New Mexico	128,900	109,300	19,600	18

Source: DBS Corp.,1982; 1987

Eight states enroll a total of 3.57 million Hispanic students, 88% of the national total. 1987 Census estimates indicate that these states contain about 40% of the nation's

total population. (New York Times, Dec. 30, 1987). The great majority of the increase in Hispanic enrollments took place in California and Texas, which have long educated most American Hispanics. The two states had three of every five Hispanic students in 1986-87. California is by far the nation's most populous state, and Census projections suggest that Texas will replace New York as the second most populous by 1995. (Ibid., New York Times, April 4, 1988). Hispanic enrollment in both of these important states almost doubled during this eighteen year period. Among the states with large Hispanic populations, the increase was least rapid in New Mexico and New York. New Mexico is the state with by far the largest proportion of Hispanic students, 45% in 1986, down slightly from 47% in 1980.

New Mexico has had less than two percent growth in overall public school enrollment in the sixteen year period and is obviously not a major destination for contemporary Hispanic or Anglo migration. The state has many Spanish-American or Hispano families who have resided there for generations. New York has a smaller total statewide enrollment than it had in 1970 and the proportion of Hispanics students is up modestly from 9% to 12%. Migration from Puerto Rico, which accounted for a very substantial share of the state's Hispanic students, has long passed its peak.

Aside from California and Texas, which have very large and youthful Hispanic populations and continuous mass migration across porous borders, there are several different kinds of states with large Hispanic growth. Both the Chicago and Miami

areas are large centers of Hispanic migration which attract Hispanics from a variety of locations, although most in Chicago are of Mexican origin and Miami is the great center of Cuban urban settlement. Both cities have a well-developed infrastructure of Hispanic institutions and labor markets. Miami has a great deal of Hispanic financial and political power.

The other large growth areas, Arizona and New Jersey, are probably showing the effects of extremely rapid economic growth and urbanization in areas near large Hispanic settlements. Both the Valley of the Sun region around Phoenix and the northern New Jersey suburbs have been major economic boom areas since the sixties. Hispanic migration is strongly influenced by both economic opportunity and the existence of a Hispanic community.

The future may bring similar patterns of increasing enrollments in new centers of economic growth, particularly if they are near existing Hispanic settlement areas and already have significant local Hispanic communities. Young families seeking economic opportunity are highly mobile, and a great many Hispanic families are young and looking for jobs.

Recent patterns show where the greatest growth is now concentrated. With the exception of New Mexico, all of the states with the largest Hispanic enrollments have had substantial increases during the first six years of the 1980s. The lowest, 18%, was in New York state, while all the other states had from 26% to 38% increases during this six-year period. In the most recent two year period, the largest increase in number of students was in Texas, where a recent Supreme Court decision,

Pyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), required the public schools to enroll children of undocumented families, reversing the state's previous policy. The other largest proportionate increases came in Arizona, New Jersey, and Illinois.

The trends suggest that the existing centers of Hispanic settlement are likely to see a steadily increasing presence of Hispanic students in all of their educational institutions. Several of these states are among the most rapidly growing in population and political power.

Among the reasons that the scale of the growth of Hispanic enrollment is not yet fully apparent in secondary and post-secondary education are the facts that the Hispanic population is very young, there is a high dropout rate for Hispanic youth, and there has been a decline in the college-going rate for Hispanic students since the 1970s. Hispanics in the U.S. are much younger, on average, than other major population groups and have a high fertility rate, facts which produce a population with substantially more Hispanics of first than twelfth grade age.

In 1985, only 59% of Hispanics aged 20-24 had finished high school. (Educational Attainment: 32.) During the 1980s, the proportion of Hispanic high school graduates enrolling in college has dropped.

The Hispanic proportion of high school graduates is far below their proportion of total enrollment. In 1986, 9.9% of the nation's students were Hispanic, but only 5.9% of the graduates and 5.0% of all college students. In New Mexico, with a stable Hispanic population and a large number of

Hispanics whose families had been in the U.S. for generations, the ratio was much closer: 45% of the students and 42% of the high school graduates. New York's record was one of the worst, with 12% of total enrollment, but only 5% of the graduates. Illinois' record was similar with 9% of the state's students, but only 4% of its 1986-87 high school graduates. Florida, like Illinois, has a 9% Hispanic state-wide enrollment, but twice as high a proportion of its graduates, 8%, are Hispanic.

Although there are many different factors contributing to these statistics, the striking national gap between enrollment and graduates and the extraordinary variation among states is an indication of both a general problem and of different regional outcomes that deserve careful investigation (DBS Corp., 1987).

The data of greatest immediate importance for state higher education officials is probably the percent of their state's high school graduates that are Hispanic. New Mexico leads the list in 1986-87 with 42%, followed by Texas with 25%, Arizona, 19%, California, 18%, Colorado, 9%, Florida, 8%, New Jersey, 6%, and New York, Nevada, and Wyoming, all 5%. The future of higher education in a number of states already depends to a significant degree on reaching the rapidly growing share of Hispanic graduates, a number that is very likely to continue to increase in the future. In those states where there is a severe underrepresentation of Hispanics among graduates, this loss of students in the most rapidly growing major sector of the population is a major policy problem for both secondary and higher education. In an era when the economic potential of a

region depends increasingly on a well-educated labor force, failing to reach a large proportion of the population has costs to entire communities and states. This problem requires urgent attention in New York, Illinois, and other states.

Comparing the 1986 high school graduate data with the college enrollment data for the same year, it is apparent that a disproportionate share of Hispanics do not make the transition to college. New Mexico had 42% Hispanic high school graduates, but only 26% Hispanic college students. Texas had 25% Hispanic high school diplomas, but only 15% Hispanic college enrollment. Arizona reported 19% of its high school diplomas went to Hispanic students, but that its colleges had less than half as large a proportion of Hispanics (9%). California had 18% Hispanics coming out of the secondary schools but only 11% in the colleges. Florida, in striking contrast, not only graduates a much higher proportion of its Hispanics from high school, but the proportion of Hispanics in college is actually higher than the proportion in the pool of high school graduates (10% compared to 8%).

Table 4

Proportion of Hispanic Students, High School Grads, and College Students, 1986-1987, Selected States

	Total Public School Enrollment	High School Grads	Total College Students
Arizona	26	19	9
California	27	18	11
Florida	9	8	10
Illinois	9	4	5
New Jersey	11	6	6

New Mexico	45	42	26
New York	12	5	7
Texas	33	25	15

Source:DBS Corp.,1987; Chronicle of Higher Education, 3/9/88.

Pre-collegiate Problems and College Preparation.

Hispanic students are not in the same kind of high schools as white students or Asian students, and they confront special problems in getting ready for schools. They are highly segregated, and in settings that are becoming much more segregated over time. This situation stands in contrast to that of black students, who became much less segregated, particularly in the South between 1964 and 1972, reaching a level of integration that has remained virtually unchanged into the mid-1980s. Asian students, in striking contrast to the Hispanic trend, typically attended schools with large white majorities. In terms of college preparation, the important thing is that the segregated Hispanic schools tend to be schools with high proportions of low income students, low proportions of middle class students, high dropout rates, low achievement scores, and, in general, much less adequate competition and preparation for college. This isolation from the educational mainstream in high school means that few Hispanic students come to college from a school that has the level of curriculum and expectations that typical white and Asian students experience.

Table 5

Hispanic Segregation by Region, 1968-1984

	% of students in predominantly white schools		% of students in 90--100% minority schools	
	1968	1984	1968	1984
West	58	32	12	23
South	30	25	34	37
Northeast	25	22	44	47
Midwest	68	46	7	24
U.S.	45	29	23	31

Source: Office for Civil Rights Data Tapes, Orfield and Monfort, 1986.

Conditions in Hispanic Families and Communities. The social and economic status of Hispanic families has an obvious effect on the probable success of their children in public schools. One basic theme of education research in the U.S. and elsewhere is the powerful relationship between these family characteristics and school performance. It is not difficult to understand the reasons if one considers that education is influenced dramatically by the years before school, when extremely important preparation for effective learning takes place, by the educational background of the parents (which is strongly linked to their social and economic status), and by the stability of the family and its ability to provide for the

child's basic needs for food, shelter, educational resources, study space, and parental support. We know that children that live in areas with large concentrations of low income children are likely to attend schools with lower levels of competition, more distractions, less qualified and less experienced teachers, lower expectations, and many other crucial differences. In low income schools many students stay no more than a few months before housing and job problems force their parents to move them to another school area. It is thus very important to consider these social and economic facts when assessing the problems facing Hispanic schools.

A very large and growing fraction of Hispanic children are living in poverty, with single parent families, and attending schools with high proportions of minority and low income children. More than a fourth of Hispanic children were living in poverty by 1981, and 67% of those living in female-headed families were below the poverty line. Hispanic women who were full-time workers made lower average incomes than either black or white women in 1980. (Civil Rights Commission, 1983: 17, 62). By 1986, 28% of Hispanic children were in female-headed families. (Census, Marital Status, 1987: 8).

The higher fertility of Hispanic women is likely to have a profound effect on American schools. During 1986, Hispanic women were 8% of the women of childbearing age but had 12 percent of the babies. Fifteen percent of Hispanic women, as opposed to 11% of black and 9% of white, reported that they expected to have families of four or more children. (Census

Bureau. Fertility of American Women, 1987: 1, 45-46). The numbers of young Hispanics also continued to grow through a large and continuing immigration.

Statistics show that a substantial fraction of Hispanic children were born to unmarried women in the mid-1980s. Twenty-three percent of Hispanic children, as opposed to 49% of black and 12% of whites, were born into such households. (Ibid.: 4). The severe poverty and low parental education in these families mean that very large numbers of Hispanic children will be coming to school from highly unfavorable backgrounds. A larger fraction of Hispanic children will be coming to school from households with few resources and more will be going into schools where they will be isolated from middle class Anglo children.

College Enrollment Trends. College administrators are far less worried about declining Hispanic than black access to higher education, in good measure because the numbers of Latino students on campus have remained stable or even risen slowly. The number of Hispanic students enrolled in all U.S. institutions of higher education rose from 384,000 in fall 1976 to 624,000 in fall, 1986, an increase of 62%. (Education Week, March 9, 1988: 15). It is only when one compares these figures to the enormous rise in the number of Hispanics in the college-age population that one can understand how the apparent progress on campus can mask a dramatic decline in access and choice for college-age Hispanic students.

Most of the attention on the decline in access of high school graduates to college has concentrated on black students,

because the numbers so obviously declined in many sectors of education. The statistics from the most important sources of national data, the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, show a much less dramatic trend for Hispanics. Among high school graduates, this data shows that Hispanics (who were far less likely to finish high school) attended college at 3% higher rates than white graduates in 1976 but were 5% less likely than Anglos to be in college in 1986.

Table 6

Percentage of Hispanic and Anglo 18-24 Year Old High School Graduates Enrolled in College, 1976-1986

	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
Hispanics	35.8	27.2	29.9	29.2	29.9	29.4
Whites	32.8	31.3	32.1	33.3	33.9	34.5

Source: Census Current Population Reports data. Chronicle of Higher Education, March 9,1988: A35.

When one adds the differing dropout rates to this deteriorating level of college going among graduates, the scale of the problem become more apparent. Of a 100 young Hispanic adults, only 59 are high school graduates and only 29% of them, or 17, were enrolled in college. This compares to a white graduation rate of 84 out of 100 and an enrollment rate of 35% which would produce 29 collegians, for a 71% higher rate of college participation. This very simple calculation shows how vital it is that education officials look beyond the pool of high school graduates and much deeper into pre-college education.

Declining Proportion of Men in College Going Population.

American colleges have had a rising share of female and a declining share of male college students during the last decade. This change has been particularly sharp among Hispanics. Hispanic collegians were 55% male in 1976, but only 47% male in fall 1986. Although the percentage of black male collegians in 1986 was lower (40%), the proportional drop among Hispanics was faster. Whites also experienced a significant drop and had a small majority of female students. Only the Asians remained relatively unchanged at 53% male students. (calculations from Chronicle of Higher Education , March 9, 1988:A36).

This pattern was very apparent in the college enrollment data in some of the metropolitan areas which will be examined later in this paper. In metropolitan Los Angeles, which has the largest Hispanic population concentration, there was a clear male majority in the Hispanic college going population in the mid-1970s, but a clear female majority in the mid-1980s. The much higher high school dropout rate for Hispanic males reported in a recent Chicago study could help explain the differences by sex. Within the Chicago public schools young men were dropping out at a 20% higher rate than young women.(Hess and Lauber, 1986). The same pattern does not appear, however, in the metropolitan Houston data.

High School and College Trends in Three Regions:
Metropolitan Houston, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

The national data shows a great deal about the general trends affecting Hispanic students, but a much more sharply focused

analysis is needed to point toward the areas of the educational system needing greatest attention. Since most Hispanic students are concentrated in the metropolitan areas of a few states, it is useful to carefully examine trends for several of the largest areas. The following data comes from the University of Chicago's Metropolitan Opportunity Project analysis of trends in a national study which includes metropolitan Los Angeles, Houston, and Chicago, three of the preeminent centers of Hispanic settlement.

Metropolitan Houston. During the 1985-1986 school year there were 187,000 students attending high school in the metropolitan Houston region, 25% of them in the Houston Independent School District (occupying the core of the city of Houston), and 75% of them in the outlying districts. During the period from 1970 to 1985, the central city district had declined from 41% of the region's high school enrollment to 25%, and had lost 12,000 students while the suburban districts gained 56,000. The Houston I.S.D. had experienced more than a doubling of Hispanic high school enrollment during this period, while the white enrollment dropped 62% and black enrollment was down 17% from its 1978 peak. In the 1985 school year the HISD enrolled 44% of the area's Hispanic secondary students, compared to only 11% of its white students. The data from the Houston area suggests that suburban Hispanic high school students were in much more integrated and better schools than those in the central district unlike suburban blacks whose experiences were more like those of their city counterparts.

Within the Houston school district, Hispanics became

increasingly isolated from whites as the Hispanic numbers soared and white enrollment plummeted. In 1970, the typical Hispanic student was in a school that was 40% Anglo, 35% Hispanic, and 26% black. In 1985, the typical Hispanic student was in a school with only 24% white, 50% Hispanic and 26% black students. Even though Hispanic students were more segregated from the black than the white students left within the central city system, the drastic decline in Anglo enrollment meant that the students were much more isolated from their white counterparts than the previous generation of inner city Hispanics had been. Eighty-five percent of the HISD Hispanic students were in predominantly minority schools by 1985, and the proportion in intensely segregated, 90-100% minority schools had increased seven-fold, to 36% by 1985.

Most Hispanic students, however, attended school outside the HISD and the numbers in these suburban districts were growing much more rapidly than within the central city. The number of suburban Hispanic high school students increased 264% in the fifteen year period, and Hispanics accounted for a ninth of suburban high school enrollment by 1985. In contrast to the central city Hispanic students, who attended schools with an average enrollment that was half Hispanic, their suburban counterparts were typically in schools where only one-fifth of the students were Hispanic and one-eighth were black. The typical Hispanic suburban student attended a 67% white high school compared to the 24% white level in the central city. Suburban black students were considerably more segregated than

Hispanics. Central city Hispanics were 36 times as likely as suburban Hispanics to be in intensely segregated schools. Only 1 percent of suburban Hispanics were in such schools in 1985, in comparison to 31% who were in schools that were 90-100% white.

The data suggests that Hispanic students in different parts of metropolitan Houston are having very different experiences. Those in the city are in a situation much more like the situation that urban blacks often face, while those in the suburbs are being educated and socialized in a predominantly white middle class word, with a third of them in overwhelmingly white schools isolated from significant minority enrollments. Hispanics with the means to get to the suburbs end up in a much more typically suburban setting.

Table 7

Proportion of Whites, Hispanics and Blacks in the School of the Typical Hispanic Student, 1970-1985

	HISD			Suburbs			Metro Total		
	W	H	B	W	H	B	W	H	B
1970	40	35	26	72	14	14	53	26	21
1975	35	38	27	76	13	11	53	27	20
1980	28	43	30	71	16	13	50	29	21
1985	24	50	26	67	20	13	48	33	19

Source: Texas Education Agency data tapes. computations by William Ponicki, Metropolitan Opportunity Project

It looks much more like there are two somewhat distinct groups of Hispanic students: low income students increasingly isolated in central city schools, and suburban students, many of whom have real and substantial contact with the mainstream of

society. If this is true, one could reasonably expect a considerably lower high school dropout rate, higher achievement scores and other positive relationships in the suburbs, compared to the Hispanic children and schools of the city.

Metropolitan Chicago. All portions of metropolitan Chicago education experienced a large increase in Hispanic students in the recent past. Hispanic enrollment increased in the Chicago Public Schools from 10% to 20% from 1971 to 1981. During the same period, the suburban Hispanic proportion doubled from 2 to 4% while the Latino enrollment in the Chicago archdiocese Catholic schools, the nation's largest parochial system, doubled from 8 to 16% of a rapidly declining system. Hispanic enrollment in the area's schools was soaring, while white and black enrollment were declining. These trends continued in the 1980s. (Orfield and Tostado, 1983: 40-41).

The 1980 Census showed that Hispanics had lower levels of education than blacks or whites, and lower levels of college completion in all major sections of metropolitan Chicago. Within the city, most Hispanics had only a grade school education and only one in twenty had a college degree. In the secondary settlements in the satellite cities around Chicago, blacks were half again as likely to have college degrees and whites most than three times as likely. There were strong links between level of education and employment and income for Chicago area Latinos. (Ibid.: 40-45) In the metropolitan Chicago area, 6% of Hispanics, 8% of blacks and 20% of whites had college degrees in 1980. Latinos lagged behind blacks in all areas with significant

minority populations, and Latinos in the suburbs were nearly twice as likely as those in the city to have college degrees.(Orfield and Mitzel: 40-45).

In 1980, Hispanics made up 10.4% of the metro region's population aged 18-24, 4.4% of the college enrollment, and 2.9% of those receiving B.A. degrees. The number of B.A. degrees received that year represented a 17% increase from the number awarded five years earlier, but the increase was much less than the growth in Hispanic college-age population during the five years. Hispanics who enrolled in college were substantially less likely to finish than either blacks or whites. (Ibid: 83-88)

Hispanic students in metropolitan Chicago were concentrated in the city and in a limited number of the 85 suburban districts running high schools. Although a much smaller share of the Hispanic students were suburban, there were sharp differences between the city and suburban experiences for students. Hispanic students living in the city of Chicago in 1986 were in schools where the average minority composition was 79%, while their suburban counterparts, like those in metro Houston, were in schools with an average of 71% white students.

In the metropolitan Chicago area there was a very strong relationship between the percent of minority students and the percent of low income students. The correlation between the percent of black and Hispanic students in a high school in metropolitan Chicago and the percentage of low income students was a staggering .93. The relationship between percent minority and graduation rate was -.83. Many fewer students at heavily

minority schools took college entrance exams. There was a negative .47 correlation coefficient between percent minority in a high school and percent taking the tests. Even though many fewer students took the tests, the average scores were dramatically lower. The correlation between percent black and Hispanic and average college admissions test score of metro Chicago high schools was -.92. Further analysis suggested that it was income rather than race that was most powerfully related to these outcomes, but there was such an extremely high relationship between the income of a school and its racial composition that to talk about one was to talk about the other. There were no predominantly low-income white high schools, for example, and no all middle class black or Hispanic schools. (Garrett, 1979).

When the relationships were studied simply in terms of the percent of Hispanic students in a school the relationships were less overwhelming, in part because the influence of the larger black enrollment was factored out. On a metropolitan level, the correlation between percent Hispanic and percent poor was .28, the correlation with graduation rate was -.40 and the correlation with college entrance scores was -.43. (Ibid., p. 19).

Within Chicago, as in Houston, segregation of Hispanic students has increased substantially, but the rate of change has been much more rapid in Chicago. In 1970 the typical Chicago Hispanic student was in a 50% white school. By 1983, he was in an 83% minority school. On a metropolitan level, in 1984, the

typical Hispanic student attended a 79.5% minority school. This increase in segregation was very consequential given the relationship between race, class, and all academic outcomes. It meant that a larger and larger majority of Hispanic students were attending schools where there were few white or middle class students, the dropout rate was very high, and the level of competition and college preparation wholly inadequate. (Farley, 1979; Weinberg, 1985).

Comparisons of city and suburban schools in the metropolitan Chicago region showed that they were unequal in many respects that could directly affect college preparation. The city schools had teachers from much less competitive colleges and many fewer counselors per thousand students even though minority students, unlike whites, told survey researchers that they relied primarily on school officials for advice about college. A number of virtually all-minority inner city high schools lacked basic pre-collegiate courses such as physics and foreign language. (Orfield, Mitzel, et al., 1984). In other words, not only were minority students segregated in schools with much greater rates of dropouts and much lower test scores, but even the motivated and talented students who were there were damaged by the loss of vital pre-collegiate resources and opportunities. This analysis does not imply, of course, that the scores of Hispanic and other students would be equal if they were in equally demanding schools, since achievement is affected by many factors, but it does show that equally talented Hispanic students are usually offered systematically inferior educational challenges and

opportunities.

Los Angeles High Schools. The patterns reported in Houston and Chicago have strong parallels in Los Angeles. An analysis of data from all schools in California in the mid-1970s showed very strong state-wide relationships between percent minority, poverty, and test scores.(Espinosa and Ochoa, 1986: 77-95). A study of patterns in the high schools of the greater Los Angeles area between 1975 and 1985 by researchers at the University of Chicago also found very strong relationships of this sort. These basic relationships which were confirmed by a reanalysis of the data by a Berkeley research team which disputed findings about the effects of recent state reforms but confirmed the basic relationship.(Jaeger, 1987; PACE, 1988).

The research showed a high and rapidly intensifying level of segregation for Hispanics in each county in the area of the nation's largest Hispanic settlement. This region which contains about a twentieth of the nation's population and about 740,000, or 18%, of the nation's Hispanic students had experienced rapidly increasing isolation of Hispanics in each of its three major areas. Between 1970 and 1984, the percent of whites in the school of the typical Latino student dropped from 45% to 17% in Los Angeles County, from 73% to 31% in Orange County and from 63% to 40% in the Riverside and San Bernardino County area. (Office for Civil Rights, Jan. 1988; Orfield, Monfort and George, 1987).

Data from the 1984-85 school year shows that the correlation between the percent black and Hispanic and average

math scores in metropolitan Los Angeles high schools was -.88, the relationship was even stronger for reading, -.90, and only slightly weaker for writing, -.85. The relationships with percent of white students were similarly strong in the opposite direction. When only the percent of Hispanic students in a school were considered, the relationships were less overwhelming but still very substantial, from -.53 to -.58. (Jaeger, 1987). Segregated minority schools, in other words, had very severe educational problems and the number of such schools and the intensity of their isolation was rapidly increasing. This data does not, of course, show that the segregation causes the inequality, but it does show that Hispanic students tend to be concentrated in schools where the tone and the level of instruction are set by large proportions of poorly prepared students.

Declining College Access for Hispanics in Four Metropolitan Areas. Recent data on four metropolitan areas shows serious declines in the proportion of Hispanic high school seniors going on to college and an increasing concentration of those who do make it to college in community colleges from which few students successfully transfer and receive a B.A. degree. Not only are Hispanic students concentrated in less selective colleges where they are unlikely to transfer, but the Chicago data clearly shows that there is a growing gap between the graduation rates of those Hispanics and Anglos who have enrolled in various kinds of colleges in recent years. The data show, in

other words, a decline in access to college, a restricted set of choices, and increased attrition within college.

The Metropolitan Opportunity Project has gathered data from four metropolitan areas with large Hispanic enrollments: Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston and Philadelphia. In these communities, we have year-by-year school and college racial statistics. They show us exactly how many students are in school, how many are graduating, and what schools and colleges they are in. They permit us to estimate changes over time, the changing relationship between finishing high school and beginning college for Hispanic students, and the changing kinds of concentrations in various colleges. These data show extremely severe problems of declining access with the drops for Hispanic high school graduates being even sharper than those recorded for blacks.

Table 8

Total Four-Year Hispanic College Enrollment as a Percentage of Twelfth Grade Enrollment Selected Metro Areas

	1980	1984
Chicago	102.1	79.7
Houston	75.9	66.4
Los Angeles	58.1	46.0
Philadelphia	39.0	34.3

Source: Gary Orfield and Faith Paul, "Declines in Minority Access: A Tale of Five Cities," Educational Record, Fall 1987-Winter 1988: 57-62.

The demographic trends for the community colleges in the preliminary analyses now under way in metropolitan Houston show declines, though they are somewhat less steep than for the B.A. granting institutions. The research on metropolitan Chicago suggests that there has been a decline of more than a fourth in access to college for Hispanic high school seniors during the first five years of the 1980s. Data from metropolitan Los Angeles shows that the decline there is largely among young Hispanic men and is most serious in inner city communities. Many states have recently enacted standards increasing the requirements for both high school graduation and college admission. These changes, if not offset by effective additional assistance for low-achieving Hispanic students may well make the existing declines more severe.

Table 9

Hispanic Two-Year Enrollment as a Percent of Twelfth Grade Enrollment, Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1980-1984

	1980	1984
Chicago	68.1	66.7
Houston	109.6	92.5
Los Angeles	77.9	69.9
Philadelphia	26.9	25.7

Source: U.S. Education Dept. Office for Civil Rights data.

There has been a notable decline in degree attainment

ratios among Hispanics enrolled in four year colleges in most of these metropolitan areas between 1980 and 1984. In Chicago the decline was 2.3%, in Houston the drop was 10.9%, and in metro Los Angeles a slight -.4%. Only in Philadelphia was there a slight increase of 1.1%, from a very low level. The underlying trend is toward greater inequality, even for those surviving into higher education.

Conclusion. Hispanics of school and college age are increasing very rapidly in the United States, so rapidly that both research and policy are running far behind the demographic changes. These changes are likely to continue well into the future. Unless they change, Hispanic students will become the nation's largest minority group and they will be highly disadvantaged educationally. If the existing trends continue, they will be ever more concentrated in low income minority schools with poor records of graduation and achievement. Although they will be a continually growing share of the college age population, particularly in those states where they live in the largest numbers, there will be an increasingly severe mismatch between their academic preparation and what colleges that are raising their admissions requirements want to have in the way of pre-collegiate preparation. There is a clear need for major efforts to break the cycle of growing inequality for Latinos in both the high schools and colleges.

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